

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

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## THE REGISTER OFFICE

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N. B.—The Stamped Register, as well as the Unstamped, published Weekly.  
The former goes by post.—Letters (*postage paid*) to No. 183, *Fleet Street*.

### PROCEEDINGS

In the "Collective Wisdom of  
the Nation," relative to

### POOR IRELAND!

THE Acts, the tremendous Acts, just passed by the Parliament relative to the unfortunate IRISH NATION, have forced me to think about a man that I thought, and hoped, I never should have to think about again. In short, at a time when *real talent*, when *sound sense*, were manifestly become necessary to be applied to public affairs, I never, in the whole range of the excursions of fancy as to probabilities and possibilities, happened to alight, for a single moment, on the idea that the ever-memorable sometime Governor General of the poor creatures of Hindostan would be brought forward amongst those

selected to restore this now harassed and distracted Kingdom to a state of tranquillity and happiness. However, it is certainly best that he should be thus put forward; for now (the Grenvilles being again IN) it is quite right that Lord Wellesley should be IN too. The whole of the *original* PITT-SET, as far as they are alive, are now IN; and there, in God's name, let them remain, as long as one single farthing of *rent* can be got by one single landlord in the whole Kingdom! This *reconciliation* is a fine thing. Those that have come in *now*, the Grenvilles and the Wellesleys, are the really "*vigorous*" set. There must be no *beggarly grudging of expenditure where they are!* Faith! they will make niggardliness ashamed of itself, in a short time! They are the very men of all the men in this world, that *I wished to see* entrusted with the taxes raised on the landlords

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and the land! They will, I warrant them, discover and apply the just and appropriate remedies for the distresses of those who approved of the *Bills of 1817* and the *Six-Acts*! I pray most devoutly for a blessing on their stern-path-of-duty efforts; and, without *their* appearance on the stage, I must say, that the *grand drama* would have been imperfect in its catastrophe: it would have ended *lamely*: there would have been something to wish for: there would have been a sort of disappointment. Now the thing will go on with *spirit* to the very *last scene*, and the curtain will drop amidst the shouts of the world.

Thus far in the way of preface. During the Debates, there was nothing of particular interest that transpired, except what was said about *Lord Wellesley*. The passing of the *Acts* was no more than what *had been done before*; and could produce no effects other than those which had been produced on so many former occasions. I have taken, for my part, no particular notice of what has been going on in Ireland; because the *Six-Acts* did not permit me to speak of the *treatment of the Catholics of Ireland* in the way that I wished to speak. And,

for the same reason, I shall now confine myself to what was, in this debate, said of the new Lord Lieutenant by *Sir Francis Burdett*, *Lord Folkestone*, *Lord Castle-reagh* and *Dr. Lushington*; and, shall then add such remarks as appear to me likely to be of use.

I was not at all surprised to hear *Sir John Newport* and many others, especially those who had all along been of the Grenville school, say, that they had such an opinion of this Lord Wellesley as to wish Ireland to be put into his hands under *military law*, rather than tie those hands by acts of Parliament. I was not surprised to hear these dear confiding gentlemen surpass even the Ministers themselves in eulogies on the late Governor of the Hindoos. But, I must confess, that, even after all that I have seen, and after all that I have heard, I was surprised to hear these eulogies from *Sir Francis Burdett*, and to hear him, too, recommending *martial law* to be put into the hands of the late Governor of the Hindostanians!

I here quote the words of the Baronet from the *New Times*, which (after the *Morning Chronicle*) I find to contain by far the best report of the speeches in

Parliament. The politics of this paper are very bad; but, in its reports it is *fair*: it is not guilty of that insolence towards the public, which, by the suppression of speeches, or parts of speeches, says to them: "*You shall read only that which I think proper to let you read.*" The words of Sir Francis Burdett were as follows: "The Noble Lord at present at the head of the Irish Government, is, from his talents and liberality, but, above all, from his consideration for, and sympathy with, the people of the unhappy country which he governs, most eminently qualified for that situation. (Hear, hear, hear.) — In the present state of things, if any person was to be responsible more than ordinarily, I would rather put into his hands the extraordinary power to do whatever was required for the safety of the country, than go on for ever legislating in this inefficient and scandalous manner. (Cheers.) I would rely on his justice, honour, wisdom and energy to that degree, which would induce me to entrust him with powers, the hundredth part of which I could not give to Ministers without a conviction that it would be abused."—Again: "With re-

spect to the measure now proposed, I would rather that Ministers would declare that Ireland was in such a state, that justice could not be administered *without the temporary presence of a very strong military force*; and I say this the more readily, because I know no man to whose discretion I would more confidently entrust such a power than to the Noble Marquis at the head of the Irish Government."

Indeed! Why, here, then, we have the Baronet, at last, willing to go further than even the Ministers themselves in this course of coercion. He would give the new Irish Governor an army to do what he liked with! The power-of-imprisonment act and the power of trying and transporting men *without a jury* are dreadful enough; but, not so dreadful as *martial law*; that is to say, the *trying by court-martial and of shooting or hanging without further ceremony!* And, yet, these are the powers which Sir Francis Burdett would give, because he has such complete reliance "on the talents, wisdom, honour, justice, discretion, liberality, consideration and sympathy of the Marquis of Wellesley!" What wonderful changes men's opinions undergo;

and that, too, without any *apparent reason* for it! We shall, presently, see what this same gentleman thought of the Marquis of Wellesley in 1806; and, it will remain for him to account for this his extraordinary *change of opinion* as to that man.

On the *Thursday*, when the dreadful Bills were first proposed, not a word was said of the Marquis but in the way of *exaggerated praise*; but, on the *Friday*, before the terrible Bills were passed, *Lord Folkestone* spoke on the subject with that *honesty* which has always distinguished him from so many frothy pretenders to justice and freedom. He was answered by *Lord Castlereagh*, who was followed by *Dr. Lushington*. I shall here insert all their speeches, as far as they related to this matter; and, then add my own remarks. The reader will be pleased to attend particularly to the parts pointed out by *italics*. The debate, observe, was on Friday last, the 8th instant.

**LORD FOLKESTONE.**—His Right Honourable Friend near him (Sir J. Newport) had declined to press his objections to the measures proposed by the Noble Marquess, although he could confessedly state no grounds for adopting them, excepting his confidence in the Noble Lord at the head of the Irish government. But was that a reason for agreeing to the suspen-

sion of that palladium upon freedom, the Habeas Corpus Act? If these measures were even required by Lord Wellesley, he should still differ from those who thought that they ought to be adopted upon that ground, and in a great measure because he differed very materially from those who had pronounced so much *eulogium* upon that Noble Lord. Marquis Wellesley was notoriously a man of very active, ardent, and vigorous mind, and as he could not join in the idle compliments paid to that nobleman, he (Lord W.) was, in his opinion, *more likely to require the possession of despotic power*. This Noble Lord had no doubt run a very brilliant career, and so had Bonaparte, who, so far from being a friend to liberty, was confessedly fond of the enjoyment of despotic power in every direction. But minds constituted like those of Lord Wellesley, were naturally anxious for the possession of despotic power, and that was a strong reason with him for refusing the despotic power with which it was proposed by these measures to invest Lord Wellesley. He had had occasion to examine the disposition and conduct of this Noble Lord, and the result of that examination was a thorough conviction that he was *one of the last persons to whom despotic power ought to be granted*. His conviction was principally founded upon the proceedings of the Noble Marquis in India, where he used the arbitrary power with which he was invested in the most *arbitrary manner* towards every Prince and State which he could contrive to bring under his subjection. The conduct, indeed, which he pursued towards the Nabob of Oude, the Peishwa, and others whom he subjugated could *never be forgotten*, marked, as that conduct was, by *peculiar injustice and cruelty*. But all the proceedings of the Noble Marquis in India were quite of a piece, if not *more aggravated, than the conduct of Bona-*



*parte in Europe.* Therefore, he felt the strongest objection to invest this Noble Lord with any thing like despotic power, although that Noble Lord might have particularly required it, believing, perhaps, that the possession of despotic power might enable him to close his career with the same splendour or *false eclat* which happened to accompany his proceedings in India. From a recollection of those proceedings, however, he conceived it his duty to oppose these measures, and therefore the authority of Lord Wellesley for these measures altogether failed, in his judgment.—*Another authority* upon which the measure immediately before the House was attempted to be defended was this, that the Bill under consideration had been drawn up by Mr. Plunkett, from a calculation, no doubt, that as that Learned Gentleman had occasionally acted with some gentlemen on his side of the House, his authority might attract some supporters. But, with every disposition to acknowledge the talents of Mr. Plunkett, he must say that his authority also failed upon this occasion,—for the conduct and language of that Learned Gentleman upon the discussion and passing of the notorious Six Acts, could not possibly be forgotten. The Learned Gentleman's definition of liberty, upon that occasion, was, indeed, so extraordinary, as must serve to astonish every constitutional lawyer—for what was that definition? why, truly, that liberty was *what the laws enabled the people to do*; which definition would apply to the meridian of Turkey or Hindostan quite as well as to that of England, or any other free State [hear!]. The Learned Gentleman had also maintained on that occasion, that the Six Acts were necessary, *because, forsooth, the people of this country were too well-informed, or that too much knowledge was diffused among them*; and yet it was proposed to adopt the mea-

sures before the House, *because the Irish were ignorant* [hear, hear!]; that on this ground those unhappy people should be treated with the Insurrection Act, and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, the latter of which was alleged by so many Gentlemen, well acquainted with Ireland, to be not at all necessary for the restoration of tranquillity in that unfortunate country. The adoption of these measures would, he apprehended, be productive of the most fatal effects, and therefore, he must most decidedly oppose them.

LORD CASTLEREAGH.—As to the language of the Noble Lord, it appeared that he still retained that singular distinctive ambition which usually urged him to present a contrast with all the Gentlemen around him. The Noble Lord had therefore risen, not to concur with the Gentlemen among whom he sat with respect to the character of Lord Wellesley, whose character the Noble Lord seemed indeed more anxious to depreciate, than to prevent the adoption of the measures before the house; but in reply to the Noble Lord's attack upon the character of Marquis Wellesley in India, he need only refer to the almost unanimous decision of that House upon the subject of the charges preferred against the Noble Marquis. He did not immediately remember whether the Noble Lord was the prosecutor of Marquis Wellesley upon that occasion, or whether he was only the associate of a gentleman of the name of Paull; but the decision of that House was recorded in its Journals, and that decision was in the teeth of all the prosecutions and the accusations advanced against the Noble Marquis. When the Noble Marquis returned from India to enjoy the ease, and to receive the homage which he was entitled to expect, after his brilliant achievements, and solid services which he had

rendered in that country, he was assailed by Mr. Paull and a few adherents, among whom was the Noble Lord. But the decision of that House fully established the injustice of all the charges that had been made against him. By that decision indeed, those charges were dismissed with the utmost disdain.

DR. LUSHINGTON said he must be allowed to advert to the animadversions which it pleased the Noble Marquis to cast so unjustly, in his opinion, on his Noble Friend's (Folkestone) conduct that night. In every word that he uttered he agreed, and in rebutting such animadversions had only to regret the absence of those illustrious characters who were so much more adequate than he was, to defend the justice of his Noble Friend's case. When the Noble Marquis arraigned his Noble Friend for his hesitation to confide extraordinary powers to the Marquis Wellesley, did it escape the recollection of the Noble Secretary, that the conduct which his Noble Friend arraigned, had been made the subject of impeachment, censure and blame in the House of Commons. If the Noble Marquis's memory failed him on that point, he (Dr. Lushington) begged to remind him, that he himself had heard the same opinion supported by the late Sir S. Romilly, in as able, as powerful, and as eloquent a speech, as was ever heard within the walls of Parliament, and ending in the condemnation of the conduct of Lord Wellesley. The same conviction was entertained by Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Windham. If then his Noble Friend (Folkestone) was in error, he was in error with names as distinguished as ever graced, or ever will grace the roll of Parliament—men whose very presence amongst them had retrieved the character of the House when other recollections of its proceedings have me-

rited reprobation. [Hear, hear!] When, therefore, the Noble Marquis threw out his animadversions on his Noble Friend, he (Dr. L.) had a right to revert to the facts, in order to repel them. It had been his duty, in reference to those proceedings, to have put a question to Mr. Sheridan. That question had for its object, to learn from him whether or not he had abandoned the farther proceedings on his motion relative to the Marquis of Wellesley. The answer he gave was, that though he retained all his opinions, he did not mean by proceeding to run the risk of dissolving the Grenville Administration. The conduct of Mr. Sheridan, on that occasion, he considered extremely culpable, as well as that of the Administration; believing, though politically attached to that party, that it was a compact between the constituent parts of that Administration, at all events, to screen the Marquis of Wellesley. That determination he had then, he did now arraign. Out of power it was all vigour, zeal and energy in support of the charges—when in place, these qualities were exchanged for coldness, apathy, and oblivion. No political predilections could induce him to approve of such a line of conduct—he preferred to follow the straight forward course of duty, without any reference to the effects it may have to the interests of the party or the individual. The opinions he (Dr. L.) then entertained as to certain parts of the conduct of the Marquis Wellesley, in India, he now retained. Giving him the fullest credit for vigour, talent and energy, he still was disposed to contend that the Noble Marquis overlooked those obligations of public faith in the brilliant prospects of extended dominion; and therefore it was that now he would not consent, on the personal credit of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to invest him with those extraordinary and despotic powers.

Now having gone through these speeches, let me say a little of what I happen to know of this matter, of which, as it happens, I know a great deal. This Lord Wellesley, under the name of *Lord Mornington*, was one of the great abettors of Pitt at the outset of the war against France, and made in the time of *assignats*, a tremendously long speech to prove, that the French must soon be wholly ruined, and compelled to give up the contest, *because they had a paper money not convertible into gold and silver!* After a pretty stout career in this way at home, Pitt sent him *out to India*, where he had fine scope for his genius, and particularly for his gift of *writing* despatches, in which as to *quantity* at least, I believe him to exceed all the rest of mankind.

About the same time that he returned home from India, which was in 1805, Mr. PAULL came from that country to England, and became his *accuser*. This gentleman actually preferred *articles of impeachment* against him in the house of Commons, which articles have not, that I have ever heard of, been effaced from the Journals of the House. Lord CASTLEREAGH says that the *injustice* of these charges was *fully esta-*

*blished*; that the House *dismissed the charges with the utmost disdain*. Dr. LUSHINGTON explains the matter a little, but not fully. I will now explain it; and, when I have related the history of the transaction, I will leave the public to judge between Lord CASTLEREAGH on the one side and Lord FOLKESTONE and Doctor LUSHINGTON on the other.

Mr. PAULL had obtained a seat in parliament in the month of June, 1805. Early in the next month Mr. WINDHAM brought him to *my house* and introduced him to me; told me that he had weighty charges to bring forward against Lord Wellesley, and expressed his opinion that I should be able to give him great assistance. If the reader will look into the 9th Volume of the Register, page *fourteen*, he will find *the very first* public mention of the business. The *date* was, *6th July 1805*. Pitt was still alive; but a good deal *faded*. He had thrust out *the Doctor*; but, the Doctor had done a good job for him in letting the cat out of the bag as to *Melville*; and thereby opened the chase for the Foxites. Pitt attempted to show a *bold front*; but, from the moment he came into power in 1804, he was an altered man. Before June 1805, *I had ad-*

*dressed half a score of not very friendly letters to him*; and, I have always observed, that, let a man be what he may when I begin on him in this way, he is not the *same man* by the time that I quit him. Besides, I was *going on* at Pitt in June 1805, and was *bringing him down* nicely to the hand of the Foxites. I look back to the Registers of that time with great delight!

The Foxites (reasonably keen for place!) pushed well the great, impudent pretender to *wisdom and purity*. I proved him to have neither. I started him, who had never been fairly started before. I unearthed him, and, in spite of all his tricks, got him from cover; and they pursued him so well, stuck to him so closely, hung upon his brush with such constancy, that, if he had not died in a few months afterwards, he would have been routed from his office. His death, together with the coalition of the Foxites and the Grenvilles, saved his faction and kept in force his fatal system, the natural results of which are now *beginning* to be felt both in England and Ireland.

It was just in the height of this pursuit of Pitt that Mr. PAULL began upon the elder Wellesley. The session of parliament (July

1805) was about to close; and, therefore, Mr. PAULL, having moved for a paper or two, gave notice of his resolution to proceed in the business, and to bring forward *articles of impeachment, as soon as the next session should commence*. He received from the Foxites the *most positive assurances of support and assistance*. He was urged on by them. Nay, SHERIDAN and Mr. FRANCIS (afterwards Sir Phillip Francis) had *pledged* themselves over and over again, to bring before parliament parts of the conduct of Wellesley, which Mr. PAULL did not propose to meddle with. And, besides all this, a *greater personage* still, had (it was openly stated in print and never contradicted) graciously condescended to *applaud* Mr. PAULL (in July 1805) for his efforts and intentions; and, to express his *hope* that the "*battery* which Mr. PAULL had opened against the "*Marquis would not be silenced, as some other batteries had been.*" On this subject see Mr. PAULL's narrative, in Register, Vol. 10. page 648; which, indeed, is a full history of the whole of the intrigue by means of which his efforts were defeated.

Thus keen were the Foxites at the close of the session of 1805 (July), and thus keen they conti-



nued until they were *in place*. Pitt, famously worked by me during the summer of that year, was not actually made *sick* by it perhaps; but, the *exposures* we were continually making with regard to him; the manifestly *altered opinion* of the public as to his *purity in money affairs*; the *approaching public trial of his associate Melville*; all these had, perhaps, something to do in hastening his death, which, as it has turned out, was a real misfortune to the country, for he would have been *demolished* and his system along with him, long ago, if he had *lived*. However, die he did in a few days after the opening of the session of 1806, which took place on the 21st of January.

Pitt died on the 26th of that month. And now that *coalition* took place, between the Foxites and the Grenvilles, which, in a few months destroyed the latter for ever as a party. The Grenvilles, who, in fact, were still as much as ever attached to all the principles and all the system of Pitt, were made the *head*; then came the Foxites; and the Addingtons (Pittites too) composed the *tail*! From such a ministry, what was Mr. PAULL to expect! He soon found, that he was to expect nothing but the bitter hos-

tility of those who had before been urging him on to prosecute the intended impeachment! Whitbread, who had made such a fuss about Melville, and who had been as loud about Wellesley, became *dumb*. Sheridan and Francis, not only dropped their own prosecutions, but even opposed Mr. PAULL in his. Attempts were made, first to *seduce* him into an abandonment of his duty (see the narrative, Register, Vol. 10. p. 648), and next to *bully* him from the discharge of it. All *opposed*, or abandoned him, except the following:—

Lord Folkestone,  
Mr. Windham,  
Dr. Lawrence,  
Lord Ossulston,  
Sir J. Wrottesley,  
S. W. Geary,  
Marquis Douglas,  
Lord A. Hamilton,  
Mr. Martin, of Galway,  
Mr. Martin, of Tewkesbury,  
Mr. W. Smith.

Nevertheless, Mr. PAULL, as soon as the new Ministry was formed, in February 1806, began his motions for papers; and, before the close of that session, he had his *Articles of Charge for high crimes and misdemeanors*, lying on the table of the House, and printed. These articles are

too long for me to insert here. Indeed they would occupy more than a whole Register closely printed. They are contained in Register, Vol. 9, page 835, and subsequent ones. As to these charges, I ought to know something about them; for, at the *pressing request of Mr. Windham, I drew them up!* It is impossible to describe them. They must be read to know what they are. But, this I can say, that I *founded every allegation on documents coming from the House of Commons*; and that Mr. Windham examined every charge by those documents, and *approved of them all*, before they were laid on the table of the House.

To have an idea of the treatment that Mr. Paull met with during this session of parliament, you must read Register, Vol. 9 all through. There were the *Grenvilles* and the *Addingtons* in the Ministry, and the *Pittites* in the Opposition, all uniting in *open assault* upon him; and there were the *Foxites* *abandoning* and *betraying* him! It was the foulest thing; the most scandalous scene ever exhibited in this world! Talk of *public men*, indeed! who could ever think of *party* after this? That foul-dealer, SHERIDAN did not scruple to confess, that he

had abandoned the cause for the sake of *place*; and, in this respect Dr. LUSHINGTON has now said no more than the well known truth. Still, however, Mr. PAULL was neither to be seduced nor frightened from his object. He baited the time-serving crew from one end of the session to the other; and, seeing, that he was daily and hourly bringing on the coalition more and more of public odium, they resolved to get rid of him and his tormenting, if possible, by *dissolving the parliament*, and taking care to *keep him out of the next*; for, observe, *every faction* was against him, and, therefore, *a purchased seat was out of the question*: and how was he to get in for an open borough against all the weight, by *all* the parties, that would be brought against him!

The parliament which had existed only *four years*, was dissolved in October 1806, and this put an *end to the Charges*, and to all the steps taken in the case of the *Elder Wellesley*! Therefore, unless Mr. PAULL could *get a seat in the new parliament*, these Charges would, in all probability *drop for ever*! To defeat the views of the combined factions, we (for I certainly had a great hand in it) resolved to try *West-*

minster for Mr. PAULL; and, now, we shall presently come to the part Sir FRANCIS BURDETT acted *then*, and be able to compare it with the part he acts *now*. Because "*inconsistency*" is a *great crime*, you know, reader; and, therefore, this is a capital point!

Mr. Fox was now (October 1806) *dead*. Lord Percy (now Duke of Northumberland) had succeeded him in Westminster. But, now that there was a *tug* coming, that Lord declined. Lord Gardener who had been Mr. Fox's colleague also declined. So that, there were two fresh Members to be chosen. *All the factions united* and put up *Sir Samuel Hood* and *Sheridan* to keep out *Mr. Paull*, who had the hearts of the people with him decidedly; and, after all, was *really elected*; but, by acts of villany such as never were heard of before, was finally deprived of his seat, and the Admiral and Sheridan were returned. But, let us see the part that Sir FRANCIS BURDETT then acted, and the opinion he *then* entertained of the character of that very Wellesley that he *now* would entrust with the governing of Ireland by martial law.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT proposed Mr. PAULL at the hustings at Covent Garden; but, he did a

great deal more: he gave a thousand pounds towards the expences of the election; he was Chairman of the Meeting to concert measures for the support of Mr. PAULL; and, all these efforts of his were, as the reader will instantly see, grounded on the desire to see Mr. PAULL elected, *in order that the prosecution of Wellesley might not be dropped!* On the 30th of October, 1806, a Meeting was held at the Crown and Anchor, for the purpose of furthering the election of Mr. PAULL, Sir FRANCIS BURDETT was the Chairman, and, upon that occasion he spoke thus: "Mr. Paull claims and deserves the support of every man in the community. I will state, as briefly as I can, the merits of Mr. Paull's conduct; and I am sorry to say that he stands as a singular individual in the present time, on account of his adherence to public principles; of *his pursuing oppressors*; of his bringing *accusations against alleged delinquents*; and all this under such singular disadvantages, that I will be bold to say, without compliment to him, few indeed would, under the same circumstances, have adhered to the cause of public virtue in the same manner as Mr. Paull has

“done.—(*Great Applause.*)——  
 “Every art and trick that could  
 “be employed to create obstruction, or to present all sorts of  
 “opposition to the object of Mr.  
 “Paull, open or underhanded,  
 “to prevent him from pursuing  
 “that object, were exercised,  
 “either to cajole or terrify him  
 “from the pursuit of it; but they  
 “all proved unavailing. But what  
 “is the strongest recommendation  
 “of Mr. Paull to your suffrages  
 “is, that it has been a strong motive  
 “with ministers, perhaps the  
 “strongest, to dissolve the present  
 “Parliament, in order to stifle  
 “his voice in it—(*vast applause*)  
 “—for they are well aware, that  
 “Mr. Paull cannot come into  
 “Parliament for money—he is a  
 “proscribed person amongst those  
 “who have seats at their disposal.  
 “He cannot come in again to perform  
 “what he has so nobly begun,  
 “by any means but those of the  
 “independent exertion, by the un-  
 “corrupt and energetic support,  
 “of a popular election, such as  
 “yours, and to which, I say, he  
 “has a right to look for support;  
 “nor do I know where he can  
 “look with such well-founded  
 “confidence of success, as to the  
 “public spirited and independent  
 “Electors of this great and en-  
 “lightened city. I say, therefore,

“that for these reasons only,  
 “being engaged as he is against  
 “a great alleged delinquent, and  
 “being proscribed from all places  
 “except those that are populous  
 “and independent, he has a claim  
 “upon your integrity—with your  
 “assistance he will stand upon a  
 “rock, from which he cannot be  
 “removed; and this consideration  
 “is of the utmost importance, for  
 “he alone can do it with effect;  
 “nobody but himself can effectively  
 “carry on the enquiry  
 “which he has commenced, and  
 “with your assistance he will be  
 “a fulcrum, sufficiently powerful,  
 “perhaps to remove even the  
 “present broad bottomed administration.”——*See Register,*  
*Vol. X. pages 678 and 679.*

This was the speech; but, at the  
 very same time, Sir FRANCIS  
 BURDETT proposed to the Meeting  
 a resolution in these words:  
 “That in the parliamentary conduct  
 “of Mr. Paull, we have observed  
 “a constant attention to  
 “his duty, a strict adherence to  
 “every promise made to the public,  
 “a virtuous abhorrence of oppressors  
 “and peculators, an inflexible  
 “perseverance in the prosecution  
 “of delinquency, a rare instance  
 “of resistance to those temptations,  
 “by which so many



“ other men have been seduced  
 “ to betray their trust ; and, that  
 “ upon these grounds, it is incum-  
 “ bent upon us, collectively and  
 “ individually, to use all the legal  
 “ means within our power to se-  
 “ cure his election, and therein  
 “ to do all that rests with us to  
 “ preserve our country from a fate  
 “ similar to that of so many Eu-  
 “ ropean states which have fallen  
 “ an easy conquest to the enemy,  
 “ only because the people had  
 “ neither property nor liberty  
 “ to defend.”—*See Register,*  
*Vol. X. page 680.*

Now, what can have *changed* so greatly the opinion of *Sir Francis Burdett* as to Wellesley's character ? Was it that “ *decision*” of the “ *House,*” the ever-famous House, of which *Castlereagh* spoke ? Let us see, then, what sort of a decision that was ; first, however, taking a glance at the conduct of the Foxites, in the election to *keep out* Mr. PAULL. SHERIDAN, the man they set up against him, was the very man who had (before he came *into place*) pledged himself to be the prosecutor of Wellesley. They came forth with all their might to prevent Mr. PAULL from again entering the House. PETER MOORE, who had before been as eager as

any one to bring forward the charges, was their committee-chairman ; and Mr. SAMUEL WHITBREAD, of whom Dr. LUSHINGTON thinks proper to speak in such lofty terms, was their *great spokesman* at the election. PETER MOORE proposed SHERIDAN at the Hustings, LORD W. RUSSELL seconded him ; and this same Lord proposed SIR SAMUEL HOOD ! So that here was a complete *coalition* of *all the* factions against Mr. PAULL ; and, by all sorts of vile means, an apparent small majority was obtained for *Sheridan* and *Hood* !

Thus was Mr. PAULL kept out ; but, the triumph of the Foxites was of short duration ; perfidy had not long to enjoy its success ; for before the end of *four months*, they were *driven from place amidst the joyous shouts of the whole nation*, and, before the end of *five months*, the new parliament, which they had so nicely got together, was *dissolved, and melted into air* ! This was a day of great triumph to us, who had worked so hard for Mr. PAULL. It was a punishment so just and so *appropriate* ! Never would that change of ministry and that dissolution of parliament have taken place, had it not been for the universal hatred that the INS had brought upon them by their

treatment of Mr. PAULL. The ardent struggle in Westminster had brought out the *whole truth*, had laid all the motives of the factions bare, had, in short, made the mass of the people hate the Foxites more than they had ever hated the Pittites. The turning out was, doubtless, desired by the court; but, it could not have been attempted, if the Foxites had not rendered themselves so very odious as they did by their scandalous efforts to stifle the charges brought forward by Mr. PAULL. They did many odious things; indeed they could, coalesced as they were with the Grenvilles, do nothing contrary to the Pitt system; they were becoming just as much hated by the people as the Pitt-people had been; but, this perfidious conduct towards Mr. PAULL; this stifling of his accusing voice, in which the Foxites became the prominent actors, did more than any twenty of their other acts to sink them forever: and, accordingly from that day to this, they have been nothing: they have had no weight in the country: even when I was in Long Island I had more real influence than all of them put together. They might, indeed, revive now; for, at last, after having kept them gagged, muzzled, over-

laid, for sixteen years, the Grenvilles have fairly quitted them; have gone off back to the enemy and have taken the Wellesleys along with them! This is a real deliverance to the Foxites. The Grenvilles think the contrary. They think, that, having committed the Foxites; having mixed and messed them up along with themselves; having pledged them to so many things belonging to the system; having bound them hand and foot, they can now set them at defiance: and so they may, if the others hang off from the reformers. But we are now approaching towards a very different state of things from that which has lately existed; and if the Foxites do not choose still to be underlings, they will soon be what they would have been long ago, if they had not joined with the Grenvilles and the Wellesleys.

But, to return to that "decision of the House," which, CASTLE-REAGH says "established the injustice of the charges" against the elder Wellesley, it is pretty clear what sort of a decision that was likely to be, after Mr. PAULL had been ejected, in the manner we have seen, from his seat in parliament: when both sides of the House, when OUTS as well as INS, coalesced to keep the ac-

cuser out of the House, it is easy to see what we ought to think of the acquittal, even if there had been an acquittal, which, after all, there never was, as we shall presently see.

During the *two or three months* that the parliament, out of which Mr. PAULL had been kept, existed, several efforts were made by LORD FOLKESTONE to renew the charges against the elder Wellesley; and, though he was not treated with the *rudeness* that Mr. PAULL had been treated with, every possible obstacle and opposition were thrown in his way. But, when the Pittites had put out the Foxites and their associates, and had got a new parliament, his lordship found a few persons to assist him. He harassed the factions a great deal; till, at last, all joining together, Pittites, Grenvilles and Foxites now chained fast to the Grenvilles, came to a vote in March 1808, "That it appears to this House, that the Marquis of Wellesley, in carrying into execution the late arrangements in Oude, was actuated by an ARDENT ZEAL for the public service, and by the DESIRE of providing more effectually for the prosperity, defence, and safety of the British territories in India." See Register, Vol. XIII. page

494.—Was this the "establishing the *injustice* of the charges?" Certainly it was not. The charges never were examined. There was *no trial*; the accusation was *quashed*; the accuser had actually been *destroyed*, in the manner that we shall presently see; but even after all this, the *united factions*, though there was nobody to call them to account, did not so far set all decency at defiance as to vote, that the charge, or any part of it, was *not well founded*! And, it is with all this in his recollection, with those terrible and *not-disproved* charges in his memory, that Sir FRANCIS BURDETT is now ready to commit the Irish people to *martial law* in consequence of the *superior talents*, the *wisdom*, the *honour*, the *discretion*, the *liberality* and *sympathy* of the Marquis Wellesley! And this is the man, who has a band of ruffians incessantly engaged in accusing me of "*inconsistency*!" This is the man, who, at one of his Rump dinners, in 1818, said, *in allusion to me*, that, whatever else he had been, he had "always been a *consistent* politician."

As a further proof of this "*consistency*," as the further means of estimating the *soundness* of Sir Francis Burdett's judgment, and

the *sincerity* with which he now declares, that, of *all men living*, the elder *Wellesley* is the fittest to be entrusted to govern by martial law, we will now, before we come to the eulogy which Dr. LUSINGTON pronounced on the characters of Mr. *Whitbread* and Sir S. *Romilly*, take a look at the sequel of Sir Francis Burdett's conduct towards the brave, honest and unfortunate Mr. PAULL.

The city of Westminster having been so much disappointed and chagrined at being defeated by the factions in the election of November 1806, greatly rejoiced at the dissolution of March 1807; and, at the election which took place in the *following month of May*. It is well known, that this election ended with the return of Sir *Francis Burdett* and Lord *Cochrane*, Mr. Paull, Mr. Brewer Elliott and Sheridan having been candidates, the two former a part of the time, and the latter to the end. It was impossible to believe, that the *people of Westminster* did not *wish* to have Mr. PAULL. He had been nearly ruined in his finances by the former election, though there were such large contributions towards his expences. This election cost *me* nearly *five hundred pounds*. The new election was to be con-

ducted in another manner; and was to cost the candidates *nothing*. The whole was to be conducted by a Committee, and by the means of *voluntary contributions*; a plan that was actually put into effect. But now comes the dismal *sequel* before alluded to. That Mr. PAULL was to be *one* of the popular candidates all agreed. Indeed it was looked upon as a thing *of course*. Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, who had been defeated in Middlesex at the previous election, was to be *the other candidate*. We all looked upon this as a thing *settled*; and, in the time that had elapsed since the previous election, the *greatest intimacy* had existed between these two gentlemen. Mr. PAULL had dined almost every Sunday at the parties of Mr. Horne Tooke's; and, in short, greater intimacy could not well be. Thus was every thing going on smoothly. A general meeting, just at the approach of the election was held at the Crown and Anchor, to settle on the mode of collecting the money and of carrying on the business of the election, and of passing some resolutions, calling upon the country for assistance. To this meeting Sir Francis Burdett *did not come*; but his brother came, and an-



nounced, that Sir Francis would *not stand WITH Mr. Paull!*

This threw every thing into confusion. PAULL, indignant at the insult, proceeded to the BARONET, challenged him, fought him, and both were brought into the town wounded in the morning! A hue and cry was set up against PAULL as an *assassin*. *Wealth* prevailed; Burdett got his election, and Paull, after long and excruciating suffering of mind as well as body, put an end to his life in a fit of despair. This was the *only* act of Mr. PAULL that I ever *blamed*. I would have stitched coats and breeches again, if I had been Mr. PAULL; and, if I had not got a seat in parliament at last, I should have had a seat on a shop-board, and have lived to laugh at the Baronet in his present state, to see him abandon his reforming principles, to see him *apologize* for not going a hundred miles to a Whig-dinner, and to see him *eulogize the Marquis Wellesley!*

During the whole of these transactions I was at Botley. After the *duel* I took no part. Great endeavours were made to draw me forth against Mr. PAULL; but, let any one look at the Register, Vol. XI, page 966, and he will see how fair a part I acted. LORD COCH-

RANE (*after the duel*) wrote to me for my support. My answer was, that I never would desert Mr. PAULL. It is curious, but strictly true, that I never was what is called *an acquaintance* of this gentleman. I knew him merely as to public matters. Did not like his company. His manners and habits were wholly contrary to my taste. But, he was an *intimate* of Sir Francis Burdett, which made the origin of the breach the more unaccountable. The drawing up of the Charges was first assigned to Dr. Laurence, and was then assigned to me, under the correction of the Doctor and Mr. Windham, who examined every part of them before they were laid on the Table of the House of Commons.

The date of the Registers will show, that I had not been in London *for months* when the duel took place, and that I did not come to London till after the election was over. The motive for Sir Francis Burdett's *casting off* Mr. Paull was not then, nor has it ever been, *explained*, except by the subsequent conduct of that same Sir Francis Burdett towards every man who has been likely, by his activity and talents, to *outstrip him in popularity*. Mr. PAULL might have been got over; but,

after having witnessed his conduct towards Mr. Wardle, Lord Cochrane, and Major Cartwright, who can doubt? If I am asked, how I came not to discover this sooner; how I came not to discover it, till the Baronet attempted to cover ~~myself~~ with his wet blanket; I answer, that I *did* discover it; ~~aye~~; and as Major Cartwright ~~knows~~, talk of it too. But, does not every man make unpleasant discoveries as to the propensities of persons much more able to reflect his interest and his honour, and yet not blazon the discovery forth; nay, and put the best face upon the matter too, and reject, if possible, any accusations against the parties, with regard to whom the discovery has been made? At last we are compelled, for our own sakes, in our own defence, to make the disagreeable truth known to the world; and that was my case and the case of Major Cartwright as to Sir Francis Biddett. He had pulled down, kept down, or, some how or other, ~~undiscovered~~ man after man, till, at last, it came to my turn. But, there he found his overmatch. It has always been his rule of conduct to malign every man, whom he thought likely to outstrip him; nay, to approach to an equality with him in point of popular re-

putation and influence. Hence it is, that he has always had some little insignificant thing to put forward for the second seat in Westminster; and, there can be no doubt, that he declined standing with Mr. Paull from a feeling of envy. Mr. PAULL was really popular, and merited his popularity; and, therefore, he would not stand with him; that is to say, he *would not let him be elected*; for, he could not be, as things then stood, without pecuniary support, and of that he deprived him.

What reason other than this could he have? Mr. PAULL was still wanted in the House of Commons to carry on the prosecution against Wellesley. The charges had been *quashed* by the Whig-dissolution. All the reasons for putting him in the House still remained; but, the Baronet, who had *proposed* him before, who had subscribed towards his election, who had so strongly urged the necessity of electing him, now would not stand with him; and, mind, announced this, too, at a moment when it was *too late* for Mr. PAULL to recover the blow. Mark, too, that, the times were changed as to the affairs of the Baronet. When he pushed on Mr. PAULL before, he had *revenge* to obtain for the slight, not to say

scorn, with which he had been treated by the Whigs. His *Committee for Middlesex* had put forth a resolution uniting him with *Byng*. *Byng* had disclaimed him by public advertisement! Then came out the letter from the Baronet that brought the challenge from *Whitbread*. Thus, he was burning with revenge against the Whigs; and hence he became the supporter of *PAULL*, who, if re-elected, was sure to give them so much annoyance, and, as the Baronet himself said, as above, was "likely to be a *fulcrum* to remove them." But, at the second election, the Whigs were turned out; there needed no such *fulcrum*; there was nobody to annoy but the old Pittites; there were no revenges to gratify by putting *PAULL* into Parliament, and our "*conquering hero*" wanted no participator in the popular applause, his own stomach being quite sufficient for the whole of it. All this was seen at the time; it was talked of; it was lamented; but, it would not have been mentioned by me here, had not the Baronet insulted the memory of Mr. *PAULL* by now declaring, that, *of all men living, the Marquis of Wellesley is the fittest to govern a country by martial law!* And that, too, after he had read, as he must have

read, a long speech delivered by this same *Marquis*, not only justifying, to the full extent, but applauding in the highest terms, that very conduct of the *Magistrates and Yeomanry of Manchester* on the 16th of August, for the censuring of which conduct the Baronet himself got a three-months' walk in the custody of the Marshall of the King's Bench! The "*consistency*" here is a thing to be remembered by the Electors of Westminster; but, the thing itself is never to be forgotten. Let the speech of the *Elder Wellesley* on the subject of the *Manchester slaughter* be read; let *Lord Grey's* answer to him be read; and then let judgment be passed on those who have now wished to go even beyond *Castlereagh*, and to give despotic powers to the *Marquis Wellesley!*

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#### MR. BROUGHAM'S

*Speech of Monday, 11 February,  
on the Agricultural Distress.*

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MEN are now come to the point of looking at the utility of speeches as well as of other things; and, when retrenchment is the order of

th day, most men think, that the principle might, with great advantage, be applied to speeches. In those times, when speeches were estimated according to their *length*, this would have immortalized Mr. BROUGHAM; for, though there was *nothing new*; nothing either "rich or rare," the speech was *five hours long*! A speech of five hours long, without a single new idea as to the nature or extent of the evil or as to the causes of it; and without a single new suggestion as to a remedy. Nay, there was nothing new as to the *motion itself*; for, as far as it went, it was no more than the motion of Mr. HUME on the first day of the session; namely, *that it was proper to make such a reduction of taxes as would afford relief*.

If, indeed, Mr. BROUGHAM had had any *particular measure* of reduction to lay before the House, there might have been some excuse for his haste. Even then it would, in every view of the matter, have been better to wait till the Ministers had made their pro-

posals; till they had stated what they meant to do; till they had cackled forth their story and laid out their ladder of addled schemes; but, having *nothing specific* to propose himself, Mr. BROUGHAM might, surely, have had the patience to wait from Monday until Friday, when that grand master of words, Lord Castlereagh, was to come out with the "collective wisdom" of the cabinet. Surely it was, in every possible point of view, best to hear the schemers *first*. There was no fear but Mr. BROUGHAM would have had a fair chance of getting out as large a quantity of matter, or, rather, of words, as anybody else; and, as to *useful knowledge* upon this subject, what had he to bring out that was not already before the whole nation in the Register?

The wonder is, or would be if one did not know what that *House* is, not that he *lost his motion*, but that he got a single man to vote for it. As a matter of national concern, it was useless; as a party stroke *mischievous*; for, though



one might agree in the truth of the proposition, one might fairly say, it is improper to put it forth at this *time* and in this *shape*.

Long as this speech is I have read it; and, to use a favourite phrase of the pious Mr. CANNING (who has the *gout*!) "so help me God," I will never read another of equal length, let the speaker be who or what he may! It is really hunting after two grains of wheat in a bushel of chaff, and when you have found them, they are any thing but good. The speech is like the old hack, Burke's, pamphlet that was the trumpet to six hundred millions of debt, which pamphlet Paine most aptly compared to a part of the American coast, called "*Point no-point*," which, winding round with a smooth edge for a great many miles, makes you think, as you are coming coastwise, that you see a point *constantly a-head*, but at which point you *never arrive*. In this speech are all sorts of things, and jumbled together in all sorts of ways: it is

a perfect Noah's ark of political economy.

"And still they gap'd, and still their wonder grew,

"That one small head could carry all he knew."

I have been hunting through it for something tangible; but every where my "*grasp*" is eluded. I wished to see whether the "*orator*" (an appellation that must not now be exclusively given to one person) stuck to *Saint Horner* and his brother Reviewers; but, I find nothing to pin him down by, except that I knew he *voted* with *Saint Horner* on the bullion question. So, out of that he cannot get; and that was the foundation of Peel's Bill. As to this Bill, the *orator* disclaims it thus: that the Ministers shut him out of the Committee; and, when the report was made, "*severe indisposition* prevented him from taking part in the discussion." Ah, ah! say you so, my buck! But you were "pretty well again" soon afterwards, I hope? Your illness was not of a mortal nature? It produced no

impediment in your speech; for you were talking away with uncommon energy in about three months after the Bill was passed; and, I do remember me, not only that you never, up to last Monday, said a word against that Bill, but that you, after the bill was passed, called Mr. RICARDO, the inventor of the Bill, an *Oracle* in matters of political economy, and called the Register, which had clearly foretold all the consequences of the Bill, and that, too, *nearly a year before it was passed*; that you called this work, "the *worst* part of the *bad* part of the press;" and that you thus called it, too, at a time when the author had just set his foot in England, when the base faction of "Glory" were busy in plotting his destruction, and when laws were actually passing, the *real object* of the most severe of those laws you *well knew*! Come, come, then: no *crying off* from Peel's Bill. If you disapproved of it, you have had opportunities enough, in almost *three years*, to express your

disapprobation. It will not do now. It is too late. The difference between you and me is, that you find out the mischief after it has happened; I foretel the mischief, even before the measure is adopted.

I was particularly anxious to see whether orator Brougham pledged himself as to "*national faith*." I wanted to *pin him down*. But I cannot get hold of him. He slips about like an eel. I must take his words here. Pray, reader, attend to the passage, that I am going to insert. Mr. BROUGHAM knows what the *landlords* think, and what they say, when the *fundlords* do not hear them! He sees now, that they must come *to my shop*, and yet he has not the courage to utter the words; to pronounce my favourite *six letters*, S, P, O, N, G, E, which are a great deal better than *Six-Acts*! He sees that it must come to this, or that all must "go to pieces like a ship on the rocks;" he sadly wants to be *pretty forward* in avowing the doctrine; he would

have pronounced the fatal word too; but, to *come to Cobbett*; to be *his disciple*; to kneel at *that shrine*! Oh! d—g thought! But let us now see how my pretty moth skims about the flame, and yet takes care not to singe his wings.

“He was, however, willing to say, that if after all the sources of economy were exhausted—if after a great reduction of the taxes and an alleviation of the enormous burdens which afflicted the country—if after such measures they still found that the state of agriculture was oppressed and languished, he would not assert that *they ought not to administer further relief* [hear, hear!], because he thought the objects were of such importance—so mighty were the interests of the State which were bound up with the prosperity of the landowners, that they had but one limit to relief, namely, the *making it full and effectual* [cheers]. *They must go on.* If all which they did in the first instance did not suffice, they must have recourse to *other measures*, in the adoption of which they were only justified by a *paramount and unreasoning necessity* [loud cheers]. To tamper with public faith—to sully the honour of the country—to declare a national bankruptcy—Good God! could any man

in his senses recommend such a proceeding? [cheers] To alter the currency to its former state—to change the standard of value secretly or openly, would only be a choice, as had been well said, between open violence and secret fraud [hear, hear!]. It was one thing to keep the currency to its former value, and another, having altered the standard, to return to the former one. If it were their intention to retrace their steps and tamper once more with the value of the currency, the nation could put no trust in them. Such conduct would be bad enough in its immediate consequences, but by *the* example, one thousand times worse. But since necessity—that power with which there was no possibility of treating or negotiating—whose mandate was peremptory and *must be obeyed*; since that was the power which they had to contend with, they *must* accommodate their measures to its commands, and act up to the exigency of the case, if the landowners continued to be depressed in their interests as at present. It was easy to talk of balancing the account by only limiting the supply to the demand, by only growing the produce which was sufficient for the market—by throwing a portion of the lands out of cultivation, and the evil itself might be easily called only a change of stock, or mere transfer of property. These

words, however, when examined, what serious truths did they not disclose? For what did such language mean? It meant the laying waste a large and fair portion of England [hear, hear]. The breaking up of the best and dearest relations—the destruction of local attachments, than which nothing could give a deeper agony to the human heart—the tearing up by the roots of that fabric of society, which, though in its summit, it flourished in the ornaments of rank and distinction, was bottomed, supported in the landed interest [hear, hear], and must crumble to decay whenever the landed interest was no more [hear, hear, hear]. And he said the landed interest was no more if it trafficked in securities. If from day to day the proprietor endeavoured to live on by having recourse to loans, and all the expedients of trade, instead of living in the style and spirit of an old country gentleman [hear, hear]; if he were to be distressed at a neighbour's appearance, of a neighbour at his gate—if he were to be fearful of every new-comer who appeared upon his premises—if he were to wrest from a tenantry, suffering like himself, the price of his labours, and having wrung from him his earnings, was to come upon his savings, and these not being sufficient, was then to drive him out—and then to mortgage his own property, and to sell till the transfer

was complete; in this way would the property be handed over to a new race. Let it not be supposed, that the destruction of the landed interest meant the destruction of the owners physically, or that the land was to be sunk in the sea, and the men and their habitations were to be destroyed, and the traces of their existence sown with salt (a laugh.) But when so great a change was produced that the property of a commanding interest like that of the landed proprietors was changed, the interest of this class was allied as affected themselves and society; and the destruction of this class must become the ruin of the State (hear, hear!). Parliament was therefore bound to that which could be effective in relieving the public burdens, and ought to run every risk in order to save the State (hear, hear!). God forbid, that any man should even whisper such an expedient as that, from which every well-constituted mind must recoil—such as the *compounding with the public creditor* or the tampering with the currency—while Parliament possessed the power of relieving the existing distress, by a diminution of taxation, and by the enforcement of economy. He said, therefore, that the only measure of mitigating the great evil which at present oppressed society was to reduce, by every expedient, the burdens of taxation."



Bravo, my buck ! But, do not think, that the public *do not see what you are after !* Do not think to escape being set down amongst my *disciples !* Do not think that you are going to treat me as *Americus* did *Columbus*. My old and faithful disciples are all on the watch. But, mind, and the sooner you tell it your *JOLTERHEADS* the better, they have no reduction of interest *without parliamentary reform*. Mind that ! You may talk as long as you please about *paramount unreasoning necessities* and about *tearing up society by the roots* ; you may pillage the Register of *sixteen years ago* as long as you please ; but, neither the *reasons* drawn from me, nor the *descriptions* drawn from yourself, will avail your principles aught, *unless there be a reform of the parliament*. If I had been elected for Coventry instead of *Peter Moore*, there would, long ago, have been on the table of the parliament, the safe and easy means of putting all to rights *without injustice to any man*.

My Bill was drawn up in Long Island. I knew it would be wanted, and I had it ready. *Both factions subscribed money to keep me out* ; and I now enjoy their confusion. They have Peter Moore and Edward Ellice ; they have Mackintosh, Scarlet, Brougham, Abercrombie and all the wise men, selected by all the wise *fillers of seats* ; they have *Six Acts*, and they have parson Hay and Bolton Fletcher and Traffard and others to see them executed, they have Burke's books to be their guide ; they have his *executors* to pay ; and *God send them all the natural consequences !*

Lord Castlereagh's answer to Mr. Brougham was very personal and angry. He did not relish *the passage I have quoted above*. He was aware that it was but too true a picture. In short he was *scared*. But, if that scares him, what will be his *affright next year !*

Mr. RICARDO (formerly Mr. Brougham's *Oracle*) sported some of his opinions, already pretty well known ; amongst the rest,

these :—That taxation does not cause the distress ; that, *because* a tax on leather does not injure the *currier*, taxes cannot injure the *farmer* and *landlord* ; that the repeal of taxes would not relieve agriculture ; that the *letting of land go out of tillage* was necessary to relieve the *husbandman* and *landlords* ; and was one of the *remedies* to be applied ; and that “ the stockholder, by receiving a portion of the taxes, MAY BE SAID TO HAVE THE LAND IN POSSESSION,” and he added, that this was *just* ; and that it was “ absurd to talk of sacrificing the interests of the Stockholder.”

This was a pretty little *treat* for the Jolterheads :—“ *out-of-doors*” I mean ! A pretty little beginning for them. Oh, God, I thank thee for that thou hast been pleased to cause this lesson to be given to those who passed and approved of Six-Acts ; and who answered as they did our petitions for reform in 1817 !

But, in the midst of all this,

where, I would take the liberty to ask, is Mr. Ricardo’s twin-brother in talent, Mr. *Baring* ? When the guests were bidden to the banquet, one said, “ I have bought a piece of land, and must needs go and see it ;” and the newspapers tell us, that Mr. Baring has recently bought another piece of land, and a pretty large piece too ! Oh ! what sport for us ! How the Jolterheads must boil with rage ! Well ; it is all their own work. If we had been listened too ; if the Hampshire petition for Reform, for reduction of salaries, and reduction of interest of Debt ; if that petition, presented by Lord Cochrane, in February 1817, had been granted, how comfortable the Jolterheaded landlords would have been now ! It is all their own doing. They have nobody to blame but themselves. How well they deserve the expression of Castlereagh of “ *erying* distress ! ” How well they deserve to be laughed at.

Mr. BARING will drop in, I hope, soon, and repeat what he

so manfully said last year; namely, that he could see *no reason* for the "*Debtor*" to cease to pay the interest in full; no reason except that he had *nothing left to pay with!* This will very soon be the case with *landlords* at any rate; and a comfortable state of things it will be. We shall have a *new race* of landlords which is a thing by no means to frighten *us*. We, to whom the present ones *refuse reform*, cannot want *them* to remain. No new set can do *more* than what was done to us in 1817 and 1819. Let them pay *as long as they have any thing to pay with*. The farmers will soon be safe; the labourers are better off than they were, and will get better still. Let the thing *work*; let the Landlords be relieved by Castlereagh's "*general working of events*."

How easy a job, for the present, all this would be, if I had remained in America! How snugly the thing would have been got over, for a while, by repealing Peel's Bill? Who would

there be to have kept the **THING** held up, staring the people in the face! I knew this well; and, for that very reason I came home when I did. The moment I saw that the *Bill* was passed, I knew that I should be *wanted here*. There is no way out of the difficulty, except that of a reduction of the interest of the Debt, and that cannot be effected *without a reform*. So that it is quite useless to *juggle* about. The thing must be done; and, yet, if it be not done *this year*, my real opinion is, that even reform will come *too late to save the present landlords*. Just as you please, my Lords: you understand your own affairs best!

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## MEASURES

*Of the Pretty Gentlemen at Whitehall.*

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THESE stern-path-of-duty-men seem to be now in a grand *quandary*. God be praised: to say

which is neither blasphemy nor sedition, and, in spite of the Devil, can bring no man under *Six-Acts*. There, then: you have got *Six-Acts*, have you, pretty gentlemen? Keep them! Much good may they do you; but they will not enable the Jolterheads to get any rents next year, I can tell them that; and this I said, even while the *Six-Acts* were passing. Oh, God! how just art thou! Weak, querulous, impatient mortals as we are! Little did we think, that thou wast, even in that moment of our deepest humiliation, providing the sure means of our deliverance and triumph! It is always remembered by me, with great gratitude to God, that those who passed *Six-Acts*, also passed *Peel's Bill*!

But, what are these same famous measures of the pretty gentlemen to be? Who can tell? They are to be broached to-morrow (to-day is *Thursday*), and my Register must go to press to-night. What a pity! I must

remark on them at *Epsom*, on *Monday*. But, how do I know that I shall not approve of them? Do I say, that I shall not? I say remark on them; perhaps, though not likely, in the way of approbation. I am sure I shall approve if they embrace *Reform of Parliament*, and, if they do not, I am sure I shall disapprove of them.

It is to be, I guess, some *Exchequer-Bill* project, and, perhaps, a repeal of *Peel's Bill*, in whole or in part. There is no doubt of the desire of the pretty gentlemen to give relief. No doubt of that; for they must wish to be able to go on. But, I am sure, that they can do it in no way other than that of *repealing taxes*. As to a repeal of *Peel's Bill now*, either in whole or in part, it would only produce another shock; another rumbling of the thunder, previous to the dreadful crack and the falling of the bolt. However, let them do it; or, in short, let them do what they like. I do not care a straw what they do; but,



this I am sure of, that, if the Parliament be not reformed *before the crack come*, it will be a *crack* such as the world never witnessed before.

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MR. C. C. WESTERN.

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THIS gentleman has come out in a pamphlet. Bless us! It is an *Address to the Landowners*; that is to say, according to Mr. RICARDO, the *fundholders*; and they now really are the owners of the land. This, *nineteen years ago*, I said would be the case. The landlords should read, not Mr. Western's pamphlet, which only tells them that they are on the verge of ruin, which they knew before; but the *Preliminary Part* of Paper against Gold, which contains all the *sponging arguments*. It is in vain to blink this question any longer. Indeed the time is at hand, when it will be *too late* to talk of blinking. Mr. Western says: "If some relief be not applied, and that *speedily*,

" a *struggle* between the *tax-payers* and *tax-receivers* is inevitable. The chief receiver is the PUBLIC CREDITOR. " Does any man believe, that a *struggle* will not take place with HIM before we finally *give up* all we possess? Shall we not cling to our impoverished *acres* as long as we can? And will it not be such a struggle as shall be *nearly fatal* to both?"

Yes, Sir, I think it "shall" be quite "fatal to both," unless the people have reform *before the struggle begin!*" "Good Gracious!" as Castlereagh says, *how long* have I been saying, that there would be *such a struggle!* But, I dare say, that Mr. Western forgets this: perhaps, does not know that there is any such person: never heard of me, or of my "prophecies," which Nicodemus Cropper swears are "all *falsified* as soon as they are *spawned*." I need not tell my disciples to *laugh*: they will laugh enough, when they read this passage from Mr. Western, with

whom I remonstrated in 1814, 1815, and 1816, with as much earnestness as if the object had been to save my life. He was seeking for a remedy by keeping out foreign wheat and coals. I told him, I prayed him, I implored him to look at the *Bank* and the *Debt*. He kept on; and he does not even now, when he adopts, not only my doctrines, but my arguments and my very words, make the smallest acknowledgment to his teacher. If he had said to the Landowners: "*Read Cobbett's Letters to Landlords; read his Paper against Gold, and especially the PRELIMINARY PART; read his Farmer's Friend; read his Rustic Harangue at Huntingdon; and fling my pamphlet into the fire;*" he would have acted a manly and sensible part.

Oh! what pains all these people have taken to *keep me down*! All of them, without a single exception, whom I have ever known, or heard, any thing of: and how justly, good God, are they re-

warded for their efforts! If I had been in my *proper place*; in that place where my superior knowledge and foresight fully entitled me to be, *things could never have arrived at their present state*. If possessed of the power, I should have produced, years ago, the adoption of measures of prevention: if opposed to the persons in power, I should have had the means of remonstrating, and of making my remonstrances heard by the whole nation. If I had been in parliament only as long as "*Glory's*" *cubs* have been there, things never could have come to their *present state*: and yet, the whole body of those, whom this state of things threatens with a fall from splendour to beggary, have, to keep me out, laboured with as much eagerness as if they had been striving for the salvation of their souls! For the thousandth time I say, "*Verily they have their reward.*" Now, I do not care a straw about the matter; and I would not walk across Kensington-street to ask any seat-

owner to put me into parliament. The desire ever uppermost in my heart has been to see the *labouring classes*, amongst whom I was born and bred, as well off as they were when I was born. To endeavour to make them thus I have always regarded as a sacred duty. I am now sure that I shall see them in that state; and, as for the rest, I have nothing to answer for. I have, nevertheless, constantly wished to see *no change in the form* of that government; under which for so many ages, England enjoyed so much happiness and renown. I *wish* it still and most anxiously wish it; but, I have not the power and cannot have the power to cause my wishes to be gratified. I must, like other men, be the creature of events and circumstances; and all that I can foreknow of the matter, is, that I shall always be faithful to my allegiance and my country, and always prefer her freedom and

her true glory to all other things that this world can present to my view.

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#### TO THE BRIGHTONIANS.

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GENTLEMEN,

I WILL do myself the very great honour of dining with you on Monday the 25th instant, on my return from Chichester, where I shall be on *Wednesday* next.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient  
And most humble Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

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#### WESTMINSTER MEETING.

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WANT of room compels me to postpone any particular notice of this very important Meeting. I shall notice it in my next, particularly the Resolutions moved by *Mr. Nicholson*.